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463 only exceptional cases could such manual work, like yarn-spinning or sock-finishing, as was generally done at home by women for a pitiable amount of remuneration, enable a family to depend entirely upon it for even a bare subsistence, not to say, a comfortable living. Whether it was through the insufficient remuneration of the women home workers that men had to apply themselves to certain jobs or it was because of the earnings of men being too low that women had to take up manual work and earn money to supplement those of the men, it is immaterial for us to go into in the present discussion. All that need be said is that the men, if able-bodied and having the responsibility of maintaining their families, were compelled to seek and pursue some trade. Unhappily Peking is not yet in a position to provide for them opportunities of industrial employment that would give them an adequate return for their exertions, as it is still backward in modern industrial development and possesses no factories whose employment of 494 workers is worth speaking of. Now, of all the trades that are 463 most easily accessible, it is clear that none surpasses ricksha pulling, for it requires very little practice and nothing but sheer muscular energy. Nor does it call for any capital outlay except a small amount to be paid every day for the hire of the ricksha. It is, therefore, not at all remarkable that enormous numbers of the unemployed and the unskilled are either attracted or driven to this inhuman form of human motor transportation. In short, the ricksha pulling trade in Peking resembles a big labour reservoir to which flows all labour force—the unskilled, the semi-skilled and even the skilled that sometimes find themselves temporarily out of work—and from which is drafted labour force of one kind or another, whenever there is demand for it.

The number of rickshamen has been estimated in round numbers at 50,000 in January 1927 and a later figure puts it at 40,000. Without inquiring into the absolute accuracy of these figures, it may be definitely claimed that persons engaged in pulling rickshas far exceeded those of any other occupation in Peking, for, according to a rough survey of our investigators made in November 1927, the persons engaged in such important

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trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a

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CHAPTER VIII

THE RICKSHAMAN

As has been shown in Chapter IV, forty-one persons amounting to more than one half of the employed males were engaged in pulling rickshas. The presence of such a high proportion of rickshamen in the population seems to lend to the study a complexion that it is primarily a budgetary study of their class. However, this is not entirely and strictly the case, as a sufficient number of workers in other trades are included in our inquiry. In this chapter only the data relating to the rickshamen's families will be dealt with, so as to study more closely the peculiar features of their living.

Only thirty-six persons will be taken in this study and the remaining five being occupied at times with jobs other than ricksha-pulling, such as cooks or music band players, have to be discarded, lest they should disturb the homogeneity of our selected samples. Furthermore, for the convenience of comparison, individual rickshamen, and not their families, are taken into consideration.

In computing the family income and expenditure of the rickshaman, it should be remembered, the rent for ricksha hire was not included for reasons which had already been explained. For our present purpose, however, which is to demonstrate his total earnings, the amount which he paid every day for ricksha rent should, of course, be included in his income as well as his expenditure.

It should be noted that to investigate the total earnings of the rickshaman to the highest degree of accuracy is by no means an easy matter. All one could gather with an assurance to exactness is generally the sum he gave to his family from which

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have been deducted his ricksha rent and his expenses for food, tea, in some cases cigarettes, etc. Through the constant and labourious inquiries of our investigators, the amount the rickshaman spent on the streets for food and other things was ascertained and to the amount that went to support his family, it should be added, in order to arrive at his total earnings. Yet, it is still felt that he might possibly have made other purchases which he failed to account for, for odd coppers might easily have slipped from his hands into the buying of things that took his fancy now and then while plying his trade on the street. But from our experience, the expenses thus left unreported are insignificant. It is, therefore, quite possible that the income figures as given here are but very slightly lower than what they might have actually received, but the margin of error may be considered negligible.

The rickshamen covered by our inquiry all had families. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of others who are so circumstanced as to have neither family nor other dependents to support. These rickshamen are care-free and they can afford to spend what they earn. Naturally their living conditions are better off than the few samples here presented.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed with our study. In the first place, the age, working days and daily

Table 20.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average deviation from the median age (Median: 36.5)	Average working days in 6 months	Average earnings per working day	
				Gross	Net
$45- 69.9 ...	2	11.0	148	$0.39	$0.26
70- 94.9 ...	20	8.7	175	.51	.37
95-119.9 ...	12	6.5	178	.60	.45
120-144.9 ...	2	1.5	175	.71	.56
All incomes	36	7.7	174	.54	.40

In this table, all the deviations from the median age, whether positive or negative, are considered as positive, the reason being that both the old and the immature showed some deficiency in earning capacity.

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earnings of the various rickshamen will be taken up for examination. 494 465

From Table 20 one observes that out of 181 days, thirty-six rickshamen had to work on the average 174 days. In some cases, in fact, they worked during the whole period without even a day of rest. Now, considering the strenuous nature of the work which requires continuous muscular exertion and constant alert attention to the pedestrians and vehicles on the streets and further the unsanitary conditions under which the work is carried out, such as inhaling the dust while running, wearing garments soaked with perspiration and exposing oneself to extreme cold, heat and rain, ricksha pulling is a horrible calling. Yet when it was found that the men engaged in such undesirable jobs had to work practically all the year round without any rest, one should not hesitate to call it even worse than slavery. That the rickshaman has to remain in the street waiting for hire day after day with little or no interruption throughout the year is due, of course, to his low earnings which, being in most cases insufficient even for the bare subsistence of his own family, allow no margin whatsoever for him to spend wilfully.

The average daily earnings per rickshaman amounted to $0.54, or $0.40 excluding the rent of the ricksha. In comparing the ages with the earnings, it is interesting to note that the closer is the age to the median which is 36.5, the greater is the earning capacity. Thus, 36-37 represents the age at which the earning capacity is the greatest. This may be due partly to the fact that at this age their physical vigour is the greatest and partly to their sense of responsibility thrust upon them for maintaining the livelihood of their families. As a further illustration, the persons may be again grouped according to age and let us see if there exists any correlation between age and income. In the following table, it will be seen that almost half of the rickshamen were in the third age group, from 30 to 40 years of age. It is the persons of this group that had the highest daily earnings, both gross and net; all the other groups fell low, in particular the last group, which consisted of men of declining age.

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	.....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	.....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	.....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	.....	26	35	39	100

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2. His own living expenses, which consist of his own food at home and abroad and other expenses, such as clothing, rent, etc. 494 511
3. Sums which were spent for the support of the family; that is, the remainder of his total earnings after deducting the ricksha rent and his own living expenses.

One of the noteworthy features in the foregoing table is that the ricksha rent follows the increase of the income, though its percentage is diminishing with it. However, on the whole, persons of the higher income groups would still find themselves better off even though they had to pay high rents for new smart-looking rickshas. Nevertheless, the rent remains always a heavy burden to the rickshaman, for it consumes on the average one-fourth and in some cases as much as one-third of his total earnings.

In view of the extortionate rent charged by the ricksha owners, it would be interesting to inquire into the rate of his profit. The cost of the ricksha, of course, varies with its quality. A high-grade ricksha would cost at the maker's about one hundred dollars at the time the inquiry was conducted. It would last on the average six years, but during this period, extra expenses, such as repair, new tyres and paints have also to be borne by the owner. For the first two or three years, it would yield to the owner twenty cents a day and sixty dollars a year on the condition that it is hired out continuously for 300 days. According to this estimate, therefore, it seems safe to say that the ricksha owner would make 60 per cent per annum out of his invested capital in the first two or three years when the vehicle is in good new condition. As a matter of fact, however, this suggests too rosy a prospect for the ricksha owner, for it must be remembered that apart from the expenses for repair, new tyres and so on, which go to make up the wear and tear of the ricksha, he is also burdened with taxes and rents and overhead charges for his establishment; he may have to incur losses in case his vehicle is so greatly damaged as to be beyond repair or there are constant defaults of payment of rent by rickshamen; and 494

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494 lastly, his rickshas may have to lie idle for many a day because of lack of hirers. And in this way his profit is dwindling until it drops to about 20 per cent. Consequently, when all these facts are taken into consideration, the ricksha owner is, after all, not such a cold-blooded capitalist who takes the advantage of his position by exploiting the helpless, proverty-ridden class of rickshamen, as the oppressive rent he charges seems to indicate, and his profits are not so awfully high.[1]

494 511 The rise in the personal living expenses of the rickshaman follows closely the rise of his total earnings, and in this case, too, their percentage decreases as earnings increase. As regards the expenses for supporting families, however, they increase both in absolute amount and percentage with the increase of total earnings. In other words, if a rickshaman's earnings are high, both his personal and family expenditures seem to be high also, although his personal expenses tend to be low in proportion to his total earnigs. To elaborate this point still further and with a view to gaining some idea of the relative importance of various expenses, it is worthwhile to differentiate the expenses for food from those for other items, such as rent, clothing etc. and classify them under the personal expenses of the rickshaman and those of his family.

It appears from Table 23 that the food expenses of the rickshaman are higher than those of his family, the reasons whereof will be explained later, while the other expenses which comprise house rent, an important item of the budget, clothing and other miscellaneous charges are for both cases necessarily about equal, as they are deducted from those for all members of the families. The interesting feature to be noted in this table is that, with the exception of the persons of the last group, food expenses rise simultaneously with the earnings, while other expenses, in spite of the rise of the latter, remain stationary. From this fact, one may, perhaps, infer that the rickshaman's earnings

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[1] Interest rates in China are rather high. 10 per cent per annum for loans is considered low and 12 per cent very reasonable.

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are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses.

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
	PER CENT					
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the rickshaman compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses

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they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rick-shamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69.9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2,296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.069	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

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too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more of his earnings for food when he is on the street.

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

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494 262 511 family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

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875 and salted, beancurd, garlics, lard, sugar, mutton, and persim-
262 mons seemed also quite popular. In terms of expenditure, the percentages for the various kinds of food articles were distributed as follows:—

Cereals	61.2	Vegetables	11.1	Condiments	9.9
Meats	11.9	Refreshment	6.0		

Wheat flour and rice formed the chief cereals for the teachers, while corn flour, though occupying the third place, was left far behind. In fact, the former two, including all varieties of food made with them, formed almost half of their food expenses. Of the vegetables, the Chinese cabbage figured most prominently, as it is, comparatively speaking, less expensive, being grown in abundance in the winter and consequently most popular among the Peking inhabitants of all classes. Sauerkraut is another popular food among the Peking inhabitants, while sweet potatoes are taken generally for breakfast or as refreshments. Sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar and occasionally lard are all ingredients, indispensable in cooking Chinese dishes. Mutton and pork formed the chief meat for the teachers, and the expenses for the meat group reached almost 12 per cent of the total food expenditure. The persimmon was no doubt a popular fruit among the teachers' families, while peanuts and chestnuts also found wide favour.

875 Compared with the foods consumed by the working families,[1]
●494 those of the teachers' families presented several striking features.
262 In the first place, although the total number of the kinds of food articles consumed by the two classes of families were practically the same—136 for the workers in six months and 134 for the teachers in one month—some disparity could be noticed in such groups as cereals, vegetables and condiments. The teachers consumed twenty kinds of cereals, boiled and in the forms of noodles, bread and cakes, as against the workers who consumed thirty-one kinds of the same. More varieties of vegetables and condiments were consumed by the teachers than by the workers; 43 kinds of vegetables for the teachers as against 39 for the workers, and 22 kinds of condiments for the teachers as against

[1] [see Table 16, p. 96]

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17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker.

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubtedly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following:

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.2	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.3	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

was paid 180 coppers, 49 cents, a day in December; then $16 a month for two months; then 220 coppers, 57 cents, a day for one month. In April his wage was $12 for the month; but beginning in May it was 260 coppers, 68 cents, a day for the rest of the year.

Porters, push-cart men, and ricksha men usually are paid by the job. Their daily earnings therefore fluctuate widely, depending upon the weather, the amount of work available, the men's success in securing employment. The average income of the porters included in our group varied from 54 cents to $1.90 a day, for the days they worked. The average time lost during the year—that is, the number of days with no reported income—was 70, or six days a month. Three men lost more than 90 days, or three full months. The push-cart men earned an average of 63 cents a day. They lost an average of one day a month. One man paid 30 coppers, 7.5 cents a day, as rent for his cart; another from 30 to 40 coppers, or an average of 9.4 cents a day.

The average income of 32 ricksha men was 56 cents a day. Their individual earnings, for the days they worked, ranged from an average of 37 cents to one of $1.12 a day. This is net income, as the rent paid for their rickshas, or the amount paid for taxes, tires, and supplies if they owned their own vehicles, are business expenses and therefore deducted from the man's gross earnings. One thousand ricksha men, studied in 1924, reported their average net earnings as 38 cents a day.

The ricksha rents ranged from $2 to $6 a month. The average was $3.10 a month, or approximately 10 cents a day. The amount of the rent is usually determined by the quality of the vehicle and whether it is rented for a

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full or a half day. We have been interested to find that most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

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spent some money for these items. The 54 families with no expenditure under this heading all had incomes of less than $30 a month. The average expenditure per family reporting was only 4 cents a year for the $5 group; and 45 cents for the $10 group. It was $4.80 for the $25 group; and more than $10 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month. The amount increased rapidly in the higher groups. The average was $57 for the $175 group; $85 for the $200 group; and $170 for the $300 group.

For all of the income groups below $25 a month, the expenditure for communications was less than 1 per cent of the family budget. It was between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $25 and $90. The maximum was 5 per cent in the $100 group. For an American working-class family, it is estimated that carfare alone takes from 2.3 to 3 per cent of the budget.[3]

Rickshas have been the most generally used form of transportation in Peiping. According to the police report, 18,937 public rickshas, and 6,940 private rickshas, or a total of 25,877, were licensed in June, 1925. In February, 1928, there were 24,232 in the city and 6,618 in the adjoining suburbs. As a ricksha man pulls only one passenger at a time, this form of travel is relatively expensive, even though competition has reduced the fares to the point where it is difficult for a man to earn enough to pay the rent on his vehicle and provide for his own support. In 1924, the average daily earnings of 1,000 ricksha men was approximately 38 cents a day. Fares ordinarily depend upon the distance traveled and generally there is a customary rate between two points. The actual fare,

[3] Nos. 2 and 42.

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494 465 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-time ricksha men. 651 A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

414 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 656 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed 651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.